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CLAUSE TRUNCATION IN SOUTH SULAWESI: RESTRUCTURING AND NOMINALIZATION

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PREFACE

The 26th Annual Meeting of the Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association (AFLA 26) was held on May 24-26, 2019 at the University of Western Ontario (Canada). The programme consisted of 24 presentations in addition to four plenary talks by Juliette Blevins, Vera Hohaus, Marian Klammer and Becky Tollan. This volume includes 13 papers from the conference.

As conference organizer, I received generous support from a variety of sources. Financial support came from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), Research Western, the Joint Fund (Research Western, SOGS, SGPS), the Theoretical and Applied Linguistics Lab, the Canadian Linguistic Association, the Faculty of Arts and Humanities, the Graduate Program in Linguistics and three departments (French Studies, Modern Languages and Literatures, and Anthropology). The conference would not have been possible without the student volunteers (Sonia Masi, William Tran, Caylen Walker and Kang Xu), plus several others who helped out at the registration desk. Finally, I am grateful to the Department of French Studies for administrative support.

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Languages of South Sulawesi, Indonesia, display an alternation in verbal complementation between a clausal CP and a truncated clausal structure in which, we argue, the higher projections of the clause are absent. As a result, patterns of agreement and case valuation emerge in the latter structure that differ from what is found in the full structure. A similar analysis is applied to nominalizations in the languages, and here we also see patterns that line up according to the predictions of the claim that reduced structures are involved. A crucial ingredient in the analysis is the claim that the projection that licenses absolutive is structurally higher than that which licenses ergative.

1. Introduction

This paper discusses an alternation in clausal complementation in languages of South Sulawesi, Indonesia that involves, on the one hand, full clausal CP-complementation and, on the other hand, what we suggest is a truncated clausal structure (CPR (CP-reduced)). In this latter construction, the higher projections of the clause are missing, and as a result, different patterns of agreement and case valuation emerge (see Wurmbrand 2000, Marusic 2005, for example). A similar analysis is applied to nominalizations in the languages, and here likewise we see patterns that line up according to the predictions of the claim that CPR is involved. Central to the analyses of both constructions is the claim that the projection that licenses ergative agreement is structurally subordinate to the projection that licenses absolutive agreement, in line with recent proposals about clause structure in ergative languages (cf. "high absolutive" see, for example, Coon et al 2014, Deal 2016, for discussion). When this latter absolutive projection goes missing, the patterns alluded to above reveal themselves.

The languages are members of the Makassar group,¹ which are spoken along the southern coast of the southwestern peninsula of Sulawesi and on the island of Selayar. The languages exhibit VOS word order, with VSO as an alternative, and

¹We also include examples from Bugis, a neighboring South Sulawesi language, which shows morphosyntactic patterns similar to those of the Makassar group. *Ethnologue* classifies the varieties of Bugis as constituting a group on their own.

although the DP arguments are not marked overtly for case, the languages display an ergative agreement pattern.

2. Agreement Patterns

We will first give an overview of the basic structures of the languages, using examples from Makassarese and Selayarese. Simple sentences as well as those involving CP complementation will be illustrated, and we then turn to the structures of interest.

Pronominal/agreement elements that cross-reference the verb's arguments are shown below for Selayarese and Makassarese (Basri 1999, Jukes 2006, respectively). The absolutive element, as will be shown below, is an enclitic, occurring on the verb in the most basic sentences, while the ergative element is a preverbal form, analyzable as either a clitic or a prefix.

The examples in (1) show the simple agreement patterns. The ergative marker on the verb agrees with the subject of a transitive verb, while the absolutive marker, appearing as an enclitic on the verb in the following examples, agrees with a definite direct object in transitive sentences. The absolutive will also agree with the subject in intransitive sentences and in sentences with a postverbal indefinite direct object.

Selayarese²

(1) a. la-ʔalle=i doe=iŋjo i Baso?
3E-take=3A money=DEF CL B
'Baso took the money'

b. ku-jaŋjaŋ=ko
1Sg-see=2famA
'I saw you'

c. ak-keloŋ=kaŋ
INT-sing=1plExA
'We sang'

²A=absolutive clitic, E=ergative marker, G= genitive marker, cl=classifier, DEF=definite marker, ITR1=intransitive marker, ITR2=intransitive marker with indefinite object, NEG=negation, C=complementizer. We are using '=' for a clitic-host boundary, and '-' for an affix boundary. '=' is used by Jukes to indicate an affixal clitic boundary, a notation which we adopt here. The affixal clitic displays a mixture of clitic and affix properties (see Jukes 2006, Basri, Broselow, and Finer 1999, 2012). For simplicity, we treat the ergative marker here as an affix, rather than a clitic (as does Jukes for Makassarese). A clitic analysis could be implemented, however, by slightly complicating the analysis and exploiting structure immediately above vP in the structures to follow. Some glosses and transcriptions from different authors have been regularized.

- d. aŋ-janjan=kan tedoŋ³
 INTR-see=1plExA buffalo
 'We saw a buffalo'

Makassarese

- (2) a. na-cinik=ko i Baco? ri pasarak=a
 3E-see=2famA CL B Prep market=DEF
 'Baco saw you at the market'
- b. A?-jappa=i Balandayya (Jukes 2015)
 aC- jappa=i balanda=a
 INTR- walk =3A Dutch=DEF
 'The Dutchman is walking'
- c. am-muno=a? koko subaŋŋi
 TR-kill=1A dog yesterday
 'I killed a dog yesterday.'
- d. am-mallia? ballo? (Jukes 2015)
 aN(N)- balli=a? ballo?
 TR- buy =1A palm.wine
 'I buy palm wine'

The absolutive clitic is mobile; with some provisos, it is essentially a second position element that can cliticize to V, aspectual auxiliaries, negation,⁴ and preposed locatives.

- (3) a. la-taro=i loka=ŋjo rinni
 3E-put=3A banana=DEF here
 'He put the bananas here'
- b. rinni=i la-taro loka=ŋjo
 here=3A 3E-put banana=DEF
 'He put the bananas here'

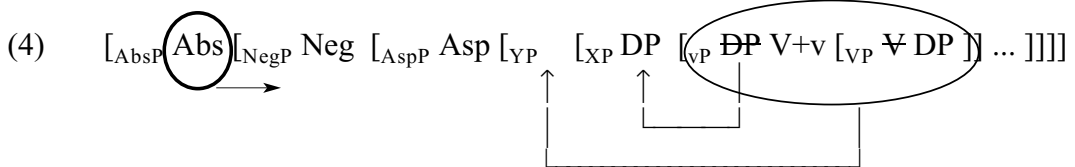
³There is alternation in Selayarese and Makassarese between examples in which the absolutive clitic intervenes between the verb and the indefinite object and examples in which the absolutive clitic encliticizes to the postverbal indefinite direct object. This can be viewed as either a PF effect (see note 4) with vP fronting, or it may point to pseudo-incorporation vs. vP remnant movement, in the sense of Massam 2001.

⁴Negation attracts the clitic in Selayarese, but there is a split among our Makassarese consultants as to whether the clitic attaches to the preverbal negation or the verb.

- c minanɿ=-i rinni la-taro loka=ɲjo
 used to=3A here 3E-put banana=DEF
 'He used to put the bananas here'
- d. gele=i minanɿ rinni la-taro loka=ɲjo
 NEG=3A used.to here 3E-put banana=DEF
 'He never put the bananas here'

Earlier treatments of the VOS word order (e.g., *Finer 1997*) assumed an SVO vP/VP along with separate leftward movements of the V and the object. A competing analysis involves V to v movement and subject raising out of vP to a higher Specifier position, followed by vP fronting. This is the analysis we will adopt in the exposition below.⁵

For a treatment of the cliticization patterns, we will simply assume that a functional projection (Abs in the diagram below) introduces the absolutive clitic, which sits fairly high in the clause c-commanding the argument with which it agrees. Through a post-syntactic process of prosodic inversion or local displacement (cf. *Halpern 1995*, *Embick and Noyer 2001*, *Schwayder 2014*), the clitic attaches to its host, first element that it precedes.⁶ We assume that other principles of clausal organization establish the relative order of the potential hosts, as suggested in (3), illustrated in (4), which also shows subject raising and vP fronting.



Following a number of authors (*Woolford 1997*, *Aldridge 2004*, *Massam 2006*, *Legate 2012*, and others), we will assume that ergative case valuation is ultimately a function of little v. We suggest that v assigns the external theta role to its specifier and probes the complement of V. If a [+def] feature is found, the phi features of the external argument are valued on v and ergative case is valued on the external argument. V raises to v, and phi features from the ergative paradigm are eventually spelled out on V+v. Within the vP-fronting analysis of VOS assumed here, the subject

⁵We will not provide an analysis of VSO word order here.

⁶As shown here, in Selayarese, a clitic will follow a preposed locative PP, while in Bugis, the counterpart clitic will encliticize to the P of the preposed PP (*Laskowske 2011*). This situation, albeit across two related languages, seems to mirror the Serbo-Croatian situation, where the 2nd position constraint seems to count either the first word or the first constituent (*Zwicky (1977)*, citing examples from *Browne*). This suggests a non-syntactic determination of the host, for which the prosodic inversion analysis may be more appropriate than syntactic adjunction.

raises to the Specifier of a higher projection,⁷ and *v*P fronts to a yet-higher Specifier position. In the absence of a definite DP object, one of the invariant prefixes shown above is realized on the *v*+*V* complex, and no Case is valued on the subject DP, due to the lack of a [+def] feature on *v*. The claim here is that the [+def] value on *v*, inherited from the definite direct object, is responsible for valuing ergative on the subject and conditioning the appearance of the affix that agrees with the argument in Spec *v*P (we will also assume that only definite DPs have a case feature that needs to be valued). The other elements that can occupy the prefix slot arise as a function of a [-def] DP object (5b), or as a function of other complementation⁸

Basri (1999) and Jukes (2006, 2013), for Selayarese and Makassarese respectively, observe that there is a general correlation between the preverbal marker *aN(N)* and an indefinite object on the one hand and the preverbal marker *aʔ/aC* on the other, though the generalization is not complete (see (1c,d), (2b,c) above). This contrast, we suggest, is a function of the agree relation between the particular instantiation of *v* and the verbal complement, if any. If *v* probes its complement and encounters an indefinite object, for example, *v* is spelled out as *aN(N)*. See Basri 1999 and Jukes 2006 for details of the morphophonology. The *v*+*V* spellout, as determined by *v* probing the verbal complement, is provided below.

- (5) a. $[_{vP} \text{ DP } [_{u\text{case:}} __] [_{\phi:} 1] \quad [V+ v \quad [_{uXP:} \text{ DP, -def }] \quad [_{vP} \forall \text{ DP/NP }] \quad [-\text{def}] \quad [\phi: 2]] \quad aN(N) \text{ (semitransitive)}$
- b. $[_{vP} \text{ DP } [_{u\text{case:}} __] [_{\phi:} 1] \quad [V+v \quad [_{uXP:} \text{ PP}] \quad [_{vP} \forall \text{ PP }] \quad aʔ/aC \text{ (intransitive)}$
- c. $[_{vP} \text{ DP } [_{u\text{case:}} \text{Erg}] [_{\phi:} 1] \quad [V+ v \quad [_{uXP:} \text{ DP, +def }] \quad [_{\phi:} 1] \quad [_{vP} \forall \text{ DP }] \quad [+ \text{def}] \quad [_{u\text{case:}} __] \quad [\phi: 2]] \quad \text{ergative agreement (transitive)}$

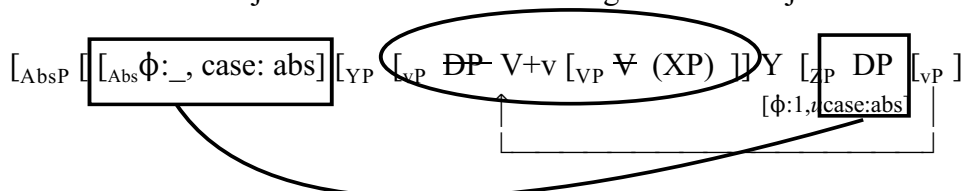
As more structure accumulates, the AbsP projection is added. The Abs head probes and enters into an agree relation with the closest active DP in its domain. In structures such as those exemplified by (5a,b), the highest active DP is the subject, and the appropriate phi features are transferred to Abs.

⁷A somewhat more elaborate treatment of the realization of the ergative and intransitive markers could involve this projection. Specifically, the head probes the feature bundle on *v* and it is spelled out according to the conventions in (5) instead of *v*, and it is treated as a clitic by the morphosyntax.

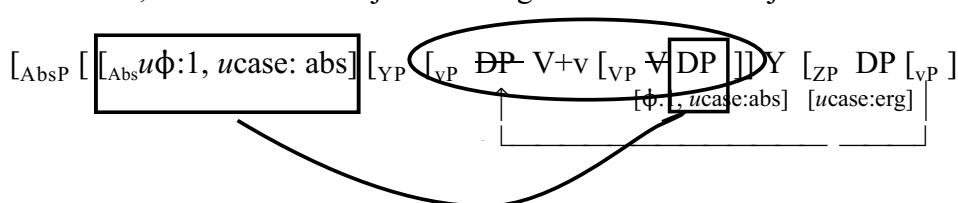
⁸Below we will see that CPs and CPRs fall into the same class as definite DPs in terms of conditioning ergative. We speculate that the form of the Selayarese complementizer (α -ko, where α corresponds to the ergative prefix of the verb that selects the CP) may be somehow related to this.

The DP object will have moved across the subject DP as part of a fronted verbal projection, so by the time that the Abs head values the object's Case feature, the subject DP will not c-command the object. The object therefore will count as a valid goal for the Abs probe.⁹ Once the Spellout domain that contains the Abs head is completed, Abs will invert and encliticize to the element to its right in the post-syntax. Illustrative structures are given in (6) and (7), showing the effects of subject-raising, vP-fronting, and case valuation.

- (6) Indefinite direct object and intransitive. Abs agrees with subject



- (7) Transitive, definite direct object. Abs agrees with direct object



Other evidence supporting this view of Case valuation and the absolutive over ergative structure, comes from modal-like constructions in which the ergative is realized on the main verb and the absolutive is realised on the modal.

- (8) a. aʔraʔ=i la-halli berasa=iŋjo i-Ali
willing=3A 3E-buy rice=DEF CL A
'Ali was willing to buy the rice'
- b. barani=i la-jakkala=i saʔa=njo i Baso
dare=3A 3E-catch=3A snake=the CL Baso
'Baso dared to catch the snake.'
- c. barani=i an-jakkala saʔa i Baso.
dare=3A INT2-catch snake CL Baso
'Baso dared to catch a snake'

⁹In VSO order, where the subject presumably c-commands the object at the relevant point in the derivation, the subject, since it already has a valued case feature, will not count as an intervener, and Abs can be valued on the object.

3. Clausal Complementation and the Reduced Structure

With this sketch of the simple sentence, we turn to clausal complementation. Examples are given below from Selayarese, Makassarese, and Bugis. The order here is typically *V-Subj-CP*, due to, we assume, the general availability of VSO order alongside the relative heaviness of the CP. In all three of these languages, a full CP complement is cross-referenced by a third person absolutive clitic, and the subject of the CP-taking verb agrees with the ergative marker. In the following examples the absolutive clitic in the subordinate clause encliticizes to the first constituent following C (cf. (3)).

Selayarese

- (9) a. la-isse?=i i Ali lako la-jaŋjaŋ=kaŋ tedoŋ=iŋjo rinni
 3E-know=3A CL A C 3E-see=2A buffalo=DEF here
 'Ali knows that the buffalo saw us here'
- b. la-isse?=i i Ali lako rinni=kaŋ la-jaŋjaŋ tedoŋ=iŋjo
 3E-know=3A CL A C here=3A 3E-see buffalo=DEF
 'Ali knows that the buffalo saw us here'
- c. la-isse?=i i Ali lako minañ=kaŋ rinni la-jaŋjaŋ tedoŋ=iŋjo
 3E-know=3A CL A. C used.to=3A here 3E-see buffalo=DEF
 'Ali knows that the buffalo used to see us here'
- d. la-isse?=i i Ali lako gele=kaŋ minañ rinni la-jaŋjaŋ tedoŋ=iŋjo
 3E-know=3A CL A C NEG=1pIE used.to here 3E-see buffalo=DEF
 'Ali knows that the buffalo never saw us here'

Makassarese

- (10)a. na-assen=i i-Ali angkanayya na-cinik=ko i Baso?
 3E-know=3A CL A C 3E-see=2A CL-B
 'Ali knows that Baso? saw you.'
- b. na-assen=i i-Ali angkanayya tena=ko na-cini? i Baso?
 3E-know=3A CL A C NEG=2A 3E-see CL B
 'Ali knows that Baso? didn't see you'

Bugis

- (11) u-isse?=i makkadae na-ita=ko i-Baso?
 1E-know=3A that 3E-see=2A CL-Baso?
 'I know that Baso? saw you.'

Examples of the CPR (reduced) construction from the three languages are shown in (12)-(14).¹⁰ What is of interest here is (i) the absolutive clitic on the upper verb agrees with the absolutive argument of the lower verb, (ii) the ergative marker on the lower verb continues to agree with the local ergative argument, (iii) there is no absolutive clitic appearing on any constituent of the lower domain, and (iv) there is no complementizer (examples degrade as the amount of material before the lower verb increases (allowed in the full CP version (9c,d)).

Selayarese

- (12)a. *la-isse?=kaŋ i Ali la-jaŋjaŋ tedoŋ=iŋjo rinni*
 3E-know=1pExA CL A.3E-see buffalo=DEF here
 'Ali knows the buffalo saw us here'
- b. *la-isse?=kaŋ i Ali rinni la-jaŋjaŋ tedoŋ=iŋjo*
 3E-know=1pExA CL A. here 3E-see buffalo=DEF
 'Ali knows the buffalo saw us here'
- c. *la-isse?=kaŋ i Ali gele la-jaŋjaŋ tedoŋ=iŋjo rinni*
 3E-know=1pExA CL A. NEG 3E-see buffalo=DEF here
 'Ali knows the buffalo didn't see us here'
- d. *la-isse?=kaŋ i Ali minaŋ la-jaŋjaŋ tedoŋ=iŋjo rinni*
 3E-know=1pExA CL A. used.to 3E-see buffalo=DEF here
 'Ali knows the buffalo used to see us here'
- e. *la-isse?=kaŋ i Ali gele minaŋ la-jaŋjaŋ tedoŋ=iŋjo rinni*
 3E-know=1pExA CL A. NEG used.to 3E-see buffalo=DEF here
 'Ali knows the buffalo never saw us here'

Makassarese¹¹

- (13)a. *na-asseŋ=ko i Ali na-cini? i Baso?*
 3E-know=2A CL- A 3E-see CL-B
 'Ali knows Baso? saw you.'

¹⁰Another related construction is available, one in which an absolutive clitic on the upper verb is able to anticipate either an absolutive or ergative argument of the lower verb across an optional overt complementizer, and where full agreement is present in the lower clause. We will not address this construction here.

¹¹There is a split in the judgments of our Makassarese speakers at this point. One speaker accepts only examples with the full CP + complementizer complementation, while the other accepts the CPR examples shown above.

- b. na-asseŋ=ko i-Ali tena na-cini? i Baso?
 3E-know=2A CL A NEG 3E-see CL-B
 'Ali knows Baso? didn't see you'

Bugis

- (14) u-isse?=ko na-ita i-Baso?
 1E-know=2A 3E-see CL-B.
 'I know Baso? saw you'

If an absolutive argument occurs overtly, it may follow the verb, i.e., it remains in its canonical position, indicating that the argument has not raised into the upper clause. Likewise, more than one argument may occur, and standard word order is preserved. As with the simple clauses, ambiguity between VOS and VSO is possible, as in (15c) and (16).¹²

Selayarese

- (15)a. la-isse?=i i Ali to-jaŋjaŋ tedoŋ=iŋjo rinni
 3E-know=3A CL A. 1plEx-see buffalo=DEF here
 'Ali knows we saw the buffalo here'
- b. la-isse?=i i Ali la-kanre pao=iŋjo jaraŋ=iŋjo
 3E-know=3A CL A. 3E-eat mango=DEF horse= DEF
 'Ali knows the horse ate the mango.'
- c. la-isse?=i i Ali la-jaŋjaŋ i Basse? i Baso?
 3E-know=3A CL A. 3E-see CL B. CL B
 'Ali knows 'Basse? saw Baso?/ Baso? saw Basse?'

Makassarese

- (16) ku-asseng=i na-cinik=i i Baso? i Ali
 1E-know=3A 3E-see=3A CL B CL A
 'I know Ali saw Baso?/ Baso? saw Ali'

In examples where the subject of the lower clause agrees with the absolutive marker (intransitives or those with a definite object), the absolutive clitic on the upper verb agrees with that argument.

¹²As we will see below, examples with the 3rd person clitic on the upper verb and a 3rd person absolutive argument in the lower context are potentially structurally ambiguous. Maki and Basri (2013) cite examples of CP complementation without an overt complementizer. In such cases, the 3rd Abs marking on the verb is still present.

Selayarese

- (17) ku-isseʔ=kan an-jaŋjan tedon
1E-know=1exA INT2-see-1plEx buffalo
'I know we saw a buffalo'

Makassarese

- (18)a. ku-assen=ko am-muno bawi
1E-know=2A TR-kill pig
'I know you killed a pig.'
- b. ku-asseng=ko tinro ri ballaʔ=nu
1E-know=2A sleep at house=2G
'I know you slept at your home.'

The generalization so far is that the absolutive marking on the upper verb in the CPR construction correlates with the absolutive marking in the lower clause in the full CP versions: the same argument agrees with an absolutive marker in each. The word-order facts outlined above indicate that it is unlikely that there is overt movement from positions in the lower clause to positions closer to a higher absolutive clitic – the word order of the subordinate material mirrors that of the typical clause, free-standing or subordinate, whether full-CP or CPR. What appears to be the case is simply that a subconstituent of the extended projection of the subordinate verb of the sort given in (9)-(11) is selected by the matrix verb (cf. (4)). This is the analysis that will be pursued below.

4. CPR, the CP Subconstituent

Proposals according to which constituents are reduced, truncated, pruned, etc., constitute a significant subliteration in syntactic theory. Some phenomena for which a truncation analysis has been proposed include: Equi-NP deletion (Ross 1967), clitic climbing (Ross 1967, Rivero 1970, Marusic 2005), ECM/S'-deletion (Chomsky 1981), embedded subject extraction (Gazdar 1981), long passive in German (Wurmbrand 2000), various stages of L1 or L2 acquisition (Lebeaux 2000, Vainikka 1993/1994, Vainikka and Young-Scholten, 1996), root vs. embedded clause contrasts (Hooper and Thompson 1973, Haegeman 2012, Shlonsky and Soare 2011, Miyagawa 2017, de Cuba 2014), Malagasy headlines (Paul 2017), Malagasy perception verb complements (Pearson 2017), etc.

In the full CP examples above there are two absolutive markers, and so at first sight, it is not obvious which one is present in the CPR versions. Either a lower one is agreeing in the lower environment and cliticizing upward, or a higher one is

agreeing from above and cliticizing locally.¹³ Data like that in (18) show that a preverbal host in the upper environment will host the clitic, but this is what would be expected, regardless of the origin of the clitic.¹⁴ Whatever specification of the domain of cliticization that is relevant for the data with a postverbal clitic is presumably applicable to the data in (19).

(19)a. gele=kan mu-kua aŋ-jaŋjaŋ tedoŋ
NEG=1ExA 2FAM-say ITR2-see buffalo
'You didn't say that we saw a buffalo'

b. gele=ko ku-kua la-jaŋjaŋ i Ali
NEG=2FAMA 1E-say 3E-see CL A
'I didn't say that Ali saw you'

The claim that the clitic projection associated with the upper verb is one that occurs in these examples is supported by the principles of clausal architecture – there is no non-ad hoc way to remove the upper absolutive projection from the upper clause along with the CP projection, since (i) other projections, as we have seen, intervene, and (ii) the CP and the upper AbsP are from two different extended projections. Under a truncation analysis in which the lower context is targeted, eliminating the CP and AbsP is straightforward; the two projections are adjacent, and the constructions can be analyzed as simply involving an alternate set of categories that the main verb selects. Furthermore, if we were to argue that the lower clitic projection is preserved, we would then have to explain how it is that the upper clitic projection goes missing. In addition, as we will see briefly below, the truncation style of analysis is supported by the data from nominalization, where clitics from two different case paradigms are involved. Therefore, as a step toward the analysis, we propose that the clause-like

¹³Here we depart from Maki and Basri (2015), who offer a "clitic climbing" proposal. Another context in which an absolute clitic is missing is A'-extraction. When the argument cross-referencing the clitic undergoes A'-movement, the clitic cannot be realized. This is discussed in Finer 1997, and see also Baier 2018, 2019 for an anti-agreement approach. While the extraction constructions are potentially unbounded, the construction discussed here is somewhat limited, suggesting that the two cannot be assimilated.

¹⁴There appears to be a general condition that prevents the verb *kua* from hosting the absolutive clitic; this is shown by the contrast in (i). As the examples in (18) show, this prohibition seems to affect only the verb *kua*, not the clause in which the verb occurs. We have no explanation for this fact.

i. a. mu-kua muko la-jaŋjaŋ=kan tedoŋ=iŋjo rinni
2famE-say C 3E-see=1Ex buffalo=DEF here
'You said that the buffalo saw us here'

b. *mu-kua=i muko la-jaŋjaŋ=kan tedoŋ=iŋjo rinni
2famE-say=3A C 3E-see=1Ex buffalo=def here

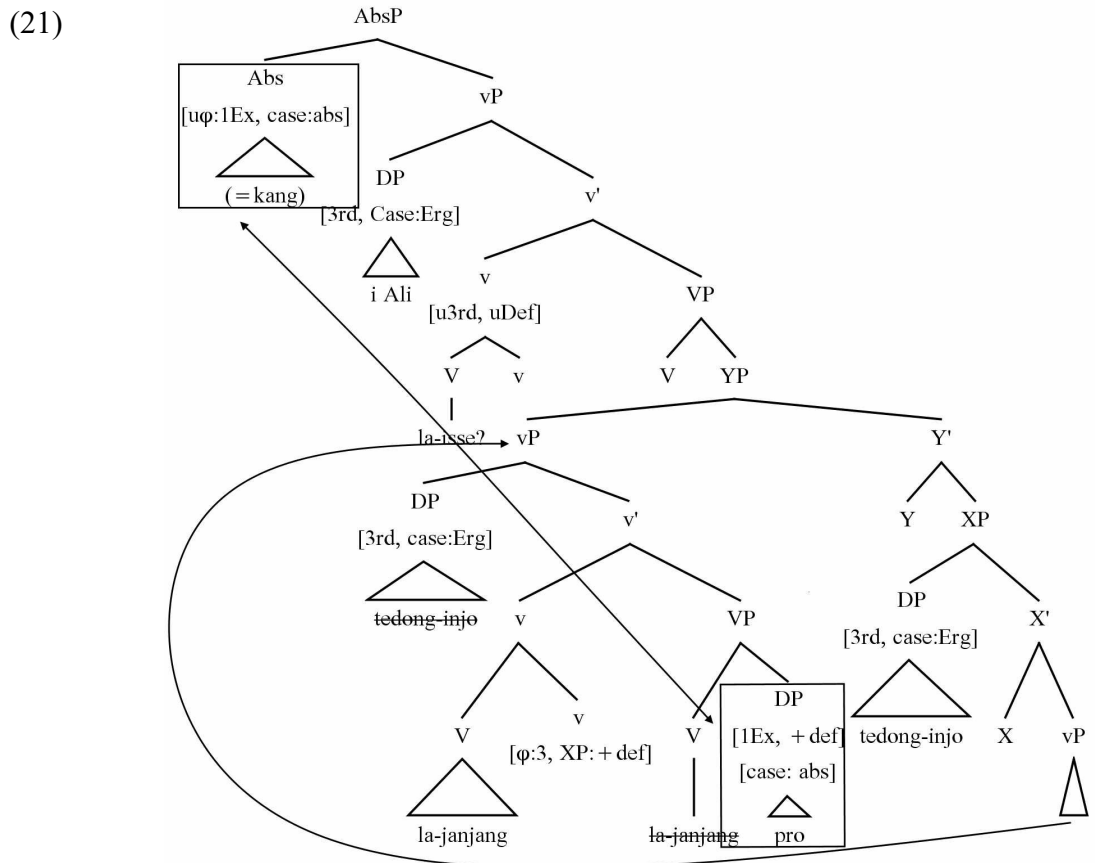
constituent that we have seen is missing at least the CP and AbsP projections. Examples in (12) show that the NegP and the Aspectual Aux projection can each be present or absent (we put aside the matter of the fronted locative in (12b)).

Consider now (20), a simple case in which a transitive structure is embedded beneath *isse?*.

- (20) la-isse?[?]=kan i Ali la-janjan tedong-injo
 3E-know=1p1ExA CL A. 3E-see buffalo=DEF
 'Ali knows the buffalo saw us here'

Here we assume that the complement of *isse?* is the YP that houses the fronted vP, which in turn contains XP, which contains the (previously fronted) DP subject. VSO order in the main clause can be derived by, among other processes, raising only the verb. Under either scenario, the DP object of the lower verb is the closest active DP to the Abs probe (see note 9), so it will be valued for absolutive case, and the Abs head will take on the appropriate phi features. When the phase is submitted to Spellout, the Abs head inverts and encliticizes to the V *laisse?*, yielding *laisse?[?]kan*.

A partial structure for (20) is illustrated below (material between AbsP and vP are omitted for space reasons).



The other examples work similarly; we simply need to posit the additional projections between YP and the selecting verb in the main clause. The valuation of Abs takes place as above. Abs probes, finds the absolutive argument, values the Case feature, and acquires ϕ -features. The intervening projections are transparent to the probe-goal relation.

Both the main and subordinate clauses are in principle equipped with AbsP projections, but in the CPR construction under discussion, the CP and AbsP of the complement clause (at least) are truncated. The Abs probe of the upper environment is then able to value the lower absolutive argument, and the absolutive clitic encliticizes to an element of the upper domain even though it bears the phi features of an argument from the lower domain.

5. A Note on Nominalizations

In the Sulawesi nominalizations, as with the construction discussed in earlier sections, there is a missing absolutive clitic. Here, however, what takes its place is a genitive clitic, which derives from the DP-internal morphosyntax. Similar to the English verbal gerund, where genitive replaces the nominative of the finite clause, the higher case-valuing projection is replaced by genitive in the Sulawesi nominalizations, and ergative agreement remains. For English, we can say that CP and TP are eliminated, and that NegP and the aspectual auxes (but not modals) may occur in this construction. There is no complementizer, and instead of tense, the morphological signature is *ing*. We assume that the nominal projection contains a nominalizer, a form of *n*, which like T, selects the rest of the clausal spine. We further assume that *n* values an inflectional feature on Aux or *v*, which is spelled out as *ing*.

- (22)a. Harry has not endorsed our candidate
 b. We were astonished at [Harry's not having endorsed our candidate]
 c. [_{DP} Harry [_D 's] [_{nP} n [_{NegP} not [_{AspP} have [_{VP} Harry v [_{VP} endorse our candidate]

The Sulawesi languages work similarly; the higher of the two case-valuing projections found in the full clause is missing, and D values Genitive on the relevant argument (as in English). As in the above sections, however, Spec vP is valued for ergative, and so D values the DP that would otherwise be marked with the Abs feature in the finite clause.

An example of the Selayarese nominalization construction is shown in (23a), from Maki and Basri (2015). The corresponding sentence is in (23b)

- (23)a. η arraŋ=i pa mu-lappa?=na (*-i)
 cry-3A because 2E-slap=3G(*3A)
 'He cried because you slapped him' ('He cried because of your slapping him')

- b. mu-lappaʔ=i
 2E-slap=3A
 'You slapped him'

The relevant part of these examples are parallel up until the last morpheme; the sentence in (23b) shows the familiar absolutive clitic on the verb, but (23a) shows the clitic replaced with the 3rd person genitive marker; the presence of the absolutive results in ungrammaticality. We assume an analysis similar to that of the reduced CP. In particular, we assume that D, the head of DP, contains phi features and a Case feature. It selects nP, a nominal projection, which then selects a member of the extended projection of V (not including CP or AbsP). Local valuation of ergative takes place within vP as above, dependent upon the definiteness of the complement of V. As the derivation leaves the verbal projection, D probes and enters into an agree relation with the direct object, genitive is valued, and phi features are transferred to D. Similar to the Abs head, the phi-valued D head inverts and encliticizes to an element on its right, in this case the V complex of the fronted vP.

The example in (24) shows that VOS order is retained in the nominalized structure. We follow the outlines of the above analysis: here the subject raises to Spec XP from Spec vP, and the vP fronts to Spec nP. The D clitic, bearing the phi features of the direct object, a consequence of the agree relation, inverts in the post-syntax and encliticizes to V.

- (24) Kuku=i pa la-halli-na jukuʔ=iŋjo i Ali
 angry-3A because 3E-buy=3G fish=DEF CL A
 'He was angry because Ali bought the fish'

- (25) [_{DP} [_D na] [_{nP} [_{vP} i Ali la-halli jukuʔ=iŋjo] n [_{XP} i Ali [_{vP}]]]]
-

(26a-b) illustrate nominalizations in which the object is indefinite or the verb is intransitive; the morphology carries over from the sentential analysis.¹⁵ The form of the marker on the verb is determined within the verbal part of the projection – any of the ergative marker and the ITR morphemes will be chosen, depending upon the verbal complement, if any. Once the nominal part of the projection is merged, D values Genitive on the direct object or intransitive subject.

- (26)b. Kuku=i pa am-malli=ba jukuʔ
 angry=3A because INT2-buy=1exG fish
 'He was angry because we bought fish'

¹⁵See Jukes 2006 for parallel examples from Makassar.

- c. Kuku=i pa ak-kelon=ku
angry=3A because INT1-sing=1sG
'He was angry because I sang'

Finally, (27a) (from Maki and Basri 2015) is an example in which the two constructions discussed here converge, and the facts are as expected. Two instances of CPR are selected here; the lower is selected by the verb *isse?*, so the absolutive clitic is therefore missing from the lower context. The absolutive clitic ordinarily associated with the upper verb does not occur as it does in the earlier examples, however, because the verb is a member of a CPR constituent itself selected by the nominalizer. The D, therefore, occurs as the genitive clitic attached to *isse?*, agreeing with the subject of the lower verb (the object is indefinite). (27b), also from Maki and Basri 2015, is an example in which only the nominalizer selects the CPR constituent. The verb *isse?* selects a full CP, and here the genitive *na* agrees with the full CP (cf. CP agreement with absolutive clitic in earlier examples), and within the CP, the direct object is indefinite, and so the local absolutive clitic agrees with the subject.

- (27)a. a-pallu-i ri la-isse?-ku (*lako) aŋ-jaŋjaŋ sa?a
Int1-cook-3A Prep 3E-know-1G that INT2-see snake
'He was cooking at the time he knew that I saw a snake.'

- b. a-pallu-i ri la-isse-na lako aŋ-jaŋjaŋ-a sa?a
Int-cook=3A Prep 3E-know-3G that INT2-see-1A snake
'He was cooking at the time he knew that I saw a snake.'

6. Conclusion

Two constructions from South Sulawesi have been discussed, an analysis has been proposed that involves truncated structure and the claim that the projection licensing absolutive case is structurally superior to the one licensing ergative. One construction concerns the verbal domain, and the other the nominal domain, but they share the important property of recruiting categories of the extended verbal projection, which determine the essential properties of the more subordinate portions.

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